BENITO MUSSOLINI

THE DOCTRINE OF FASCISM

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Contents

Fundamental ideas . . . . . *p.* 7

1. Philosophic conception. 2. Spiritualised conception. 3. Positive conception of life as a struggle. 4. Ethical conception. 5. Religious conception. 6. Historical and realistic conception. 7. The individual and liberty. 8. Conception of a Corporate State. 9. Democracy. 10. Conception of the State. 11. Dynamic reality. 12. The role of the State. 13. Discipline and authority.

Political and Social Doctrine . . . . . *p.* 15

1. Origin of the doctrine. 2. Development. 3. Against pacifism. 4. The demographic policy. 5. Against historical materialism and class-struggle. 6. Against democratic ideologies. 7. The falsehoods of democracy. 8. Against the Liberal doctrines. 9. Fascism does not turn back. 10. Essence and aims of the State. 11. Unity of the State. 12. Religion and the Fascist State. 13. Empire and Discipline.

APPENDIX

Notes to Chapter I . . . . . *p.* 33

Address to the National Corporative Council – (*14th November 1933*) . . . . . *p.* 43

Speech in the Senate on the corporative law – (*13th January 1934*) . . . . . » 63

FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS

LIKE all sound political conceptions, Fascism is action and it is thought; action in which doctrine is immanent, and doctrine arising from a given system of historical forces in which it is inserted, and working on them from within (1). It has therefore a form correlated to contingencies of time and space; but it has also an ideal content which makes it an expression of truth in the higher region of the history of thought (2). There is no way of exercising a spiritual influence in the world as a human will dominating the will of others, unless one has a conception both of the transient and the specific reality on which that action is to be exercised, and of the permanent and universal reality in which the transient dwells and has its being. To know men one must know man; and to know man one must be acquainted with reality and its laws. There can be no conception of the State which is not fundamentally a conception of life: philosophy or intuition, system of ideas evolving within the framework of logic or concentrated in a vision or a faith,

but always, at least potentially, an organic conception of the world.

Thus many of the practical expressions of Fascism — such as party organisation, system of education, discipline — can only be understood when considered in relation to its general attitude toward life. A spiritual attitude (3). Fascism sees in the world not only those superficial, material aspects in which man appears as an individual, standing by himself, self-centred, subject to natural law which instinctively urges him toward a life of selfish momentary pleasure; it sees not only the individual but the nation and the country; individuals and generations bound together by a moral law, with common traditions and a mission which suppressing the instinct for life closed in a brief circle of pleasure, builds up a higher life, founded on duty, a life free from the limitations of time and space, in which the individual, by self-sacrifice, the renunciation of self-interest, by death itself, can achieve that purely spiritual existence in which his value as a man consists.

The conception is therefore a spiritual one, arising from the general reaction of the century against the flacid materialistic positivism of the XIXth century. Anti-positivistic but positive; neither sceptical nor agnostic; neither pessimistic nor supinely optimistic as are, generally speaking, the doctrines (all negative) which place the centre of life outside man; whereas, by the exercise of his free will, man can and must create his own world.

Fascism wants man to be active and to engage in action with all his energies; it wants him to be manfully aware of the difficulties besetting him and ready to face them. It

conceives of life as a struggle in which it behoves a man to win for himself a really worthy place, first of all by fitting himself (physically, morally, intellectually) to become the implement required for winning it. As for the individual, so for the nation, and so for mankind (4). Hence the high value of culture in all its forms (artistic, religious, scientific) (5), and the outstanding importance of education. Hence also the essential value of work, by which man subjugates nature and creates the human world (economic, political, ethical, intellectual).

This positive conception of life is obviously an ethical one. It invests the whole field of reality as well as the human activities which master it. No action is exempt from moral judgement; no activity can be despoiled of the value which a moral purpose confers on all things. Therefore life, as conceived of by the Fascist, is serious, austere, religious; all its manifestations are poised in a world sustained by moral forces and subject to spiritual responsabilities. The Fascist disdains an "easy" life (6).

The Fascist conception of life is a religious one (7), in which man is viewed in his immanent relation to a higher law, endowed with an objective will transcending the individual and raising him to conscious membership of a spiritual society. Those who perceive nothing beyond opportunistic considerations in the religious policy of the Fascist régime fail to realise that Fascism is not only a system of government but also and above all a system of thought.

In the Fascist conception of history, man is man only by virtue of the spiritual process to which he contributes

as a member of the family, the social group, the nation, and in function of history to which all nations bring their contribution. Hence the great value of tradition in records, in language, in customs, in the rules of social life (8). Outside history man is a nonentity. Fascism is therefore opposed to all individualistic abstractions based on eighteenth century materialism; and it is opposed to all Jacobinistic utopias and innovations. It does not believe in the possibility of "happiness" on earth as conceived by the economistic literature of the XVIIIth century, and it therefore rejects the teleological notion that at some future time the human family will secure a final settlement of all its difficulties. This notion runs counter to experience which teaches that life is in continual flux and in process of evolution. In politics Fascism aims at realism; in practice it desires to deal only with those problems which are the spontaneous product of historic conditions and which find or suggest their own solutions (9). Only by entering in to the process of reality and taking possession of the forces at work within it, can man act on man and on nature (10).

Anti-individualistic, the Fascist conception of life stresses the importance of the State and accepts the individual only in so far as his interests coincide with those of the State, which stands for the conscience and the universal will of man as a historic entity (11). It is opposed to classical liberalism which arose as a reaction to absolutism and exhausted its historical function when the State became the expression of the conscience and will of the people. Liberalism denied the State in the name of the individual; Fascism reasserts the rights of the State as expressing the real essence of the

individual (12). And if liberty is to be the attribute of living men and not of abstract dummies invented by individualistic liberalism, then Fascism stands for liberty, and for the only liberty worth having, the liberty of the State and of the individual within the State (13). The Fascist conception of the State is all-embracing; outside of it no human or spiritual values can exist, much less have value. Thus understood, Fascism, is totalitarian, and the Fascist State — a synthesis and a unit inclusive of all values — interprets, develops, and potentiates the whole life of a people (14).

No individuals or groups (political parties, cultural associations, economic unions, social classes) outside the State (15). Fascism is therefore opposed to Socialism to which unity within the State (which amalgamates classes into a single economic and ethical reality) is unknown, and which sees in history nothing but the class struggle. Fascism is likewise opposed to trade-unionism as a class weapon. But when brought within the orbit of the State, Fascism recognises the real needs which gave rise to socialism and trade-unionism, giving them due weight in the guild or corporative system in which divergent interests are coordinated and harmonised in the unity of the State (16).

Grouped according to their several interests, individuals form classes; they form trade-unions when organised according to their several economic activities; but first and foremost they form the State, which is no mere matter of numbers, the sum of the individuals forming the majority. Fascism is therefore opposed to that form of democracy which equates a nation to the majority, lowering it to the level of the largest number (17); but it is the purest form of

democracy if the nation be considered — as it should be — from the point of view of quality rather than quantity, as an idea, the mightiest because the most ethical, the most coherent, the truest, expressing itself in a people as the conscience and will of the few, if not, indeed, of one, and ending to express itself in the conscience and the will of the mass, of the whole group ethnically moulded by natural and historical conditions into a nation, advancing, as one conscience and one will, along the self-same line of development and spiritual formation (18). Not a race, nor a geographically defined region, but a people, historically perpetuating itself; a multitude unified by an idea and imbued with the will to live, the will to power, self-consciousness, personality (19).

In so far as it is embodied in a State, this higher personality becomes a nation. It is not the nation which generates the State; that is an antiquated naturalistic concept which afforded a basis for XIXth century publicity in favor f national governments. Rather is it the State which creates the nation, conferring volition and therefore real life on a people made aware of their moral unity.

The right to national independence does not arise from any merely literary and idealistic form of self-consciousness; still less from a more or less passive and unconscious *de facto* situation, but from an active, self-conscious, political will expressing itself in action and ready to prove its rights. It arises, in short, from the existence, at least *in fieri*, of a State. Indeed, it is the State which, as the expression of a universal ethical will, creates the right to national independence (20).

A nation, as expressed in the State, is a living, ethical entity only in so far as it is progressive. Inactivity is death. Therefore the State is not only Authority which governs and confers legal form and spiritual value on individual wills, but it is also Power which makes its will felt and respected beyond its own frontiers, thus affording practical proof of the universal character of the decisions necessary to ensure its development. This implies organisation and expansion, potential if not actual. Thus the State equates itself to the will of man, whose development cannot be checked by obstacles and which, by achieving self-expression, demonstrates its own infinity (21).

The Fascist State, as a higher and more powerful expression of personality, is a force, but a spiritual one. It sums up all the manifestations of the moral and intellectual life of man. Its functions cannot therefore be limited to those of enforcing order and keeping the peace, as the liberal doctrine had it. It is no mere mechanical device for defining the sphere within which the individual may duly exercise his supposed rights. The Fascist State is an inwardly accepted standard and rule of conduct, a discipline of the whole person; it permeates the will no less than the intellect. It stands for a principle which becomes the central motive of man as a member of civilised society, sinking deep down into his personality; it dwells in the heart of the man of action and of the thinker, of the artist and of the man of science: soul of the soul (22).

Fascism, in short, is not only a law-giver and a founder of institutions, but an educator and a promoter of spiritual life. It aims at refashioning not only the forms of life but

their content — man, his character, and his faith. To achieve this purpose it enforces discipline and uses authority, entering into the soul and ruling with undisputed sway. Therefore it has chosen as its emblem the Lictor's rods, the symbol of unity, strength, and justice.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL DOCTRINE

When in the now distant March of 1919, speaking through the columns of the *Popolo d'Italia* I summoned to Milan the surviving interventionists who had intervened, and who had followed me ever since the foundation of the *Fasci* of revolutionary action in January 1915, I had in mind no specific doctrinal program. The only doctrine of which I had practical experience was that of socialism, from 1903-04 until the winter of 1914 — nearly a decade. My experience was that both of a follower and a leader — but it was not doctrinal experience. My doctrine during that period had been the doctrine of action. A uniform, universally accepted doctrine of Socialism had not existed since 1905, when the revisionist movement, headed by Bernstein, arose in Germany, countered by the formation, in the see-saw of tendencies, of a left-revolutionary movement which in Italy never quitted the field of phrases, whereas, in the case of Russian socialism, it became the prelude to Bolschevism.

Reformism, revolutionism, centrism, the very echo of

that terminology is dead, while in the great river of Fascism one can trace currents which had their source in Sorel, Péguy, Lagardelle of the *Mouvement Socialiste*, and in the cohort of Italian syndicalists who from 1904 to 1914 brought a new note into the Italian socialist environment — previously emasculated and chloroformed by fornicating with Giolitti's party — a note sounded in Olivetti's *Pagine Libere*, Orano's *Lupa*, Enrico Leone's *Divenire Sociale.*

When the war ended in 1919 Socialism, as a doctrine, was already dead; it continued to exist only as a grudge, especially in Italy where its only chance lay in inciting to reprisals against the men who had willed the war and who were to be made to pay for it.

The *Popolo d'Italia* described itself in its sub-title as "the daily organ of fighters and producers„. The word "producers„ was already the expression of a mental trend. Fascism was not the nursling of a doctrine previously drafted at a desk; it was born of the need of action, and was action; it was not a party but, in the first two years, an anti-party and a movement. The name I gave the organisation fixed its character.

Yet if anyone cares to reread the now crumpled sheets of those days giving an account of the meeting at which the Italian *Fasci di combattimento* were founded, he will find not a doctrine but a series of pointers, forecasts, hints which, when freed from the inevitable matrix of contingencies, were to develop in a few years time into a series of doctrinal positions entitling Fascism to rank as a political doctrine differing from all others, past or present.

"If the bourgeoisie — I then said — believe that they

have found in us their lightening-conductors, they are mistaken. We must go towards the people... We wish the working classes to accustom themselves to the responsabilities of management so that they may realise that it is no easy matter to run a business... We will fight both technical and spiritual rear-guardism... Now that the succession of the régime is open we must not be faint-hearted. We must rush forward; if the present régime is to be superceded we must take its place. The right of succession is ours, for we urged the country to enter the war and we led it to victory... The existing forms of political representation cannot satisfy us; we want direct representation of the several interests... It may be objected that this program implies a return to the guilds (*corporazioni*). No matter!... I therefore hope this assembly will accept the economic claims advanced by national syndicalism... „.

Is it not strange that from the very first day, at Piazza San Sepolcro, the word "guild„ (*corporazione*) was pronounced, a word which, as the Revolution developed, was to express one of the basic legislative and social creations of the régime?

The years preceding the March on Rome cover a period during which the need of action forbade delay and careful doctrinal elaborations. Fighting was going on in the towns and villages. There were discussions but... there was something more sacred and more important... death... Fascists knew how to die. A doctrine — fully elaborated, divided up into chapters and paragraphs with annotations, may have been lacking, but it was replaced by something far more decisive, — by a faith. All the same, if with the help of

books, articles, resolutions passed at congresses, major and minor speeches, anyone should care to revive the memory of those days, he will find, provided he knows how to seek and select, that the doctrinal foundations were laid while the battle was still raging. Indeed, it was during those years that Fascist thought armed, refined itself, and proceeded ahead with its organisation. The problems of the individual and the State; the problems of authority and liberty; political, social, and more especially national problems were discussed; the conflict with liberal, democratic, socialistic, masonic doctrines and with those of the *Partito Popolare*, was carried on at the same time as the punitive expeditions. Nevertheless, the lack of a formal system was used by disingenuous adversaries as an argument for proclaiming Fascism incapable of elaborating a doctrine at the very time when that doctrine was being formulated — no matter how tumultuously, — first, as is the case with all new ideas, in the guise of violent dogmatic negations; then in the more positive guise of constructive theories, subsequently incorporated, in 1926, 1927, and 1928, in the laws and institutions of the régime.

Fascism is now clearly defined not only as a régime but as a doctrine. This means that Fascism, exercising its critical faculties on itself and on others, has studied from its own special standpoint and judged by its own standards all the problems affecting the material and intellectual interests now causing such grave anxiety to the nations of the world, and is ready to deal with them by its own policies.

First of all, as regards the future development of mankind, — and quite apart from all present political conside-

rations — Fascism does not, generally speaking, believe in the possibility or utility of perpetual peace. It therefore discards pacifism as a cloak for cowardly supine renunciation in contra-distinction to self-sacrifice. War alone keys up all human energies to their maximum tension and sets the seal of nobility on those peoples who have the courage to face it. All other tests are substitutes which never place a man face to face with himself before the alternative of life or death. Therefore all doctrines which postulate peace at all costs are incompatible with Fascism. Equally foreign to the spirit of Fascism, even if accepted as useful in meeting special political situations — are all internationalistic or League superstructures which, as history shows, crumble to the ground whenever the heart of nations is deeply stirred by sentimental, idealistic or practical considerations. Fascism carries this anti-pacifistic attitude into the life of the individual. "I don't care a damn„ (*me ne frego*) — the proud motto of the fighting squads scrawled by a wounded man on his bandages, is not only an act of philosophic stoicism, it sums up a doctrine which is not merely political: it is evidence of a fighting spirit which accepts all risks. It signifies a new style of Italian life. The Fascist accepts and loves life; herejects and despises suicide as cowardly. Life as he understands it means duty, elevation, conquest; life must be lofty and full, it must be lived for oneself but above all for others, both near bye and far off, present and future.

The population policy of the régime is the consequence of these premises. The Fascist loves his neighbor, but the word "neighbor" does not stand for some vague and un-

seizable conception. Love of one's neighbor does not exclude necessary educational severity; still less does it exclude differentiation and rank. Fascism will have nothing to do with universal embraces; as a member of the community of nations it looks other peoples straight in the eyes; it is vigilant and on its guard; it follows others in all their manifestations and notes any changes in their interests; and it does not allow itself to be deceived by mutable and fallacious appearances.

Such a conception of life makes Fascism the resolute negation of the doctrine underlying so-called scientific and Marxian socialism, the doctrine of historic materialism which would explain the history of mankind in terms of the class-struggle and by changes in the processes and instruments of production, to the exclusion of all else.

That the vicissitudes of economic life — discoveries of raw materials, new technical processes, scientific inventions — have their importance, no one denies; but that they suffice to explain human history to the exclusion of other factors is absurd. Fascism believes now and always in sanctity and heroism, that is to say in acts in which no economic motive — remote or immediate — is at work. Having denied historic materialism, which sees in men mere puppets on the surface of history, appearing and disappearing on the crest of the waves while in the depths the real directing forces move and work, Fascism also denies the immutable and irreparable character of the class struggle which is the natural outcome of this economic conception of history; above all it denies that the class struggle is the preponderating agent in social transformations. Having thus

struck a blow at socialism in the two main points of its doctrine, all that remains of it is the sentimental aspiration — old as humanity itself — toward social relations in which the sufferings and sorrows of the humbler folk will be alleviated. But here again Fascism rejects the economic interpretation of felicity as something to be secured socialistically, almost automatically, at a given stage of economic evolution when all will be assured a maximum of material comfort. Fascism denies the materialistic conception of happiness as a possibility, and abandons it to the economists of the mid-eighteenth century. This means that Fascism denies the equation: well-being = happiness, which sees in men mere animals, content when they can feed and fatten, thus reducing them to a vegetative existence pure and simple.

After socialism, Fascism trains its guns on the whole block of democratic ideologies, and rejects both their premises and their practical applications and implements. Fascism denies that numbers, as such, can be the determining factor in human society; it denies the right of numbers to govern by means of periodical consultations; it asserts the irremediable and fertile and beneficent inequality of men who cannot be levelled by any such mechanical and extrinsic device as universal suffrage. Democratic régimes may be described as those under which the people are, from time to time, deluded into the belief that they exercise sovereignty, while all the time real sovereignty resides in and is exercised by other and sometimes irresponsible and secret forces. Democracy is a kingless régime infested by many kings who are sometimes more exclusive, tyrannical, and destruc-

tive than one, even if he be a tyrant. This explains why Fascism — although, for contingent reasons, it was republican in tendency prior to 1922 — abandoned that stand before the March on Rome, convinced that the form of government is no longer a matter of preeminent importance, and because the study of past and present monarchies and past and present republics shows that neither monarchy nor republic can be judged *sub specie aeternitatis,* but that each stands for a form of government expressing the political evolution, the history, the traditions, and the psychology of a given country.

Fascism has outgrown the dilemma: monarchy v. republic, over which democratic régimes too long dallied, attributing all insufficiences to the former and proning the latter as a régime of perfection, whereas experience teaches that some republics are inherently reactionary and absolutist while some monarchies accept the most daring political and social experiments.

In one of his philosophic Meditations Renan — who had pre-fascist intuitions — remarks:

"Reason and science are the products of mankind, but it is chimerical to seek reason directly for the people and through the people. It is not essential to the existence of reason that all should be familiar with it; and even if all had to be initiated, this could not be achieved through democracy which seems fated to lead to the extinction of all arduous forms of culture and all highest forms of learning. The maxim that society exists only for the well-being and freedom of the individuals composing it does not seem to be in conformity with nature's plans, which care only for

the species and seem ready to sacrifice the individual. It is much to be feared that the last word of democracy thus understood (and let me hasten to add that it is susceptible of a different interpretation) would be a form of society in which a degenerate mass would have no thought beyond that of enjoying the ignoble pleasures of the vulgar".

So far Renan. In rejecting democracy Fascism rejects the absurd conventional lie of political equalitarianism, the habit of collective irresponsibility, the myth of felicity and indefinite progress. But if democracy be understood as meaning a régime in which the masses are not driven back to the margin of the State, then the writer of these pages has already defined Fascism as an organised, centralised, authoritarian democracy.

Fascism is definitely and absolutely opposed to the doctrines of liberalism, both in the political and the economic sphere. The importance of liberalism in the XIXth century should not be exaggerated for present-day polemical purposes, nor should we make of one of the many doctrines which flourished in that century a religion for mankind for the present and for all time to come. Liberalism really flourished for fifteen years only. It arose in 1830 as a reaction to the Holy Alliance which tried to force Europe to recede further back than 1789; it touched its zenith in 1848 when even Pius IXth was a liberal. Its decline began immediately after that year. If 1848 was a year of light and poetry, 1849 was a year of darkness and tragedy. The Roman Republic was killed by a sister republic, that of France. In that same year Marx, in his famous Communist Manifesto, launched the gospel of socialism.

In 1851 Napoleon III made his illiberal *coup d'état* and ruled France until 1870 when he was turned out by a popular rising following one of the severest military defeats known to history. The victor was Bismarck who never even knew the whereabouts of liberalism and its prophets. It is symptomatic that throughout the XIXth century the religion of liberalism was completely unknown to so highly civilised a people as the Germans but for one parenthesis which has been described as the "ridiculous parliament of Frankfort" which lasted just one season. Germany attained her national unity outside liberalism and in opposition to liberalism, a doctrine which seems foreign to the German temperament, essentially monarchical, whereas liberalism is the historic and logical anteroom to anarchy. The three stages in the making of German unity were the three wars of 1864, 1866, and 1870, led by such "liberals" as Moltke and Bismarck. And in the upbuilding of Italian unity liberalism played a very minor part when compared to the contribution made by Mazzini and Garibaldi who were not liberals. But for the intervention of the illiberal Napoleon III we should not have had Lombardy, and without that of the illiberal Bismarck at Sadowa and at Sedan very probably we should not have had Venetia in 1866 and in 1870 we should not have entered Rome. The years going from 1870 to 1915 cover a period which marked, even in the opinion of the high priests of the new creed, the twilight of their religion, attacked by decadentism in literature and by activism in practice. Activism: that is to say nationalism, futurism, fascism.

The liberal century, after piling up innumerable Gordian

knots, tried to cut them with the sword of the world war. Never has any religion claimed so cruel a sacrifice. Were the Gods of liberalism thirsting for blood?

Now liberalism is preparing to close the doors of its temples, deserted by the peoples who feel that the agnosticism it professed in the sphere of economics and the indifferentism of which it has given proof in the sphere of politics and morals, would lead the world to ruin in the future as they have done in the past.

This explains why all the political experiments of our day are antiliberal, and it is supremely ridiculous to endeavor on this account to put them outside the pale of history, as though history were a preserve set aside for liberalism and its adepts; as though liberalism were the last word in civilisation beyond which no one can go.

The Fascist negation of socialism, democracy, liberalism, should not, however, be interpreted as implying a desire to drive the world backwards to positions occupied prior to 1789, a year commonly referred to as that which opened the demo-liberal century. History does not travel backwards. The Fascist doctrine has not taken De Maistre as its prophet. Monarchical absolutism is of the past, and so is ecclesiolatry. Dead and done for are feudal privileges and the division of society into closed, uncommunicating casts. Neither has the Fascist conception of authority anything in common with that of a police-ridden State.

A party governing a nation "totalitarianly" is a new departure in history. There are no points of reference nor of comparison. From beneath the ruins of liberal, socialist, and democratic doctrines, Fascism extracts those

elements which are still vital. It preserves what may be described as "the acquired facts" of history; it rejects all else. That is to say, it rejects the idea of a doctrine suited to all times and to all people. Granted that the XIXth century was the century of socialism, liberalism, democracy, this does not mean that the XXth century must also be the century of socialism, liberalism, democracy. Political doctrines pass; nations remain. We are free to believe that this is the century of authority, a century tending to the "right", a Fascist century. If the XIXth century was the century of the individual (liberalism implies individualism) we are free to believe that this is the "collective" century, and therefore the century of the State. It is quite logical for a new doctrine to make use of the still vital elements of other doctrines. No doctrine was ever born quite new and bright and unheard of. No doctrine can boast absolute originality. It is always connected, if only historically, with those which preceded it and those which will follow it. Thus the scientific socialism of Marx links up to the utopian socialism of the Fouriers, the Owens, the Saint-Simons; thus the liberalism of the XIXth century traces its origin back to the illuministic movement of the XVIIIth, and the doctrines of democracy to those of the Encyclopaedists. All doctrines aim at directing the activities of men towards a given objective; but these activities in their turn react on the doctrine, modifying and adjusting it to new needs, or outstripping it. A doctrine must therefore be a vital act and not a verbal display. Hence the pragmatic strain in Fascism, its will to power, its will to live, its attitude toward violence, and its value.

The key-stone of the Fascist doctrine is its conception of the State, of its essence, its functions, and its aims. For Fascism the State is absolute, individuals and groups relative. Individuals and groups are admissable in so far as they come within the State. Instead of directing the game and guiding the material and moral progress of the community, the liberal State restricts its activities to recording results. The Fascist State is wide awake and has a will of its own. For this reason it can be described as "ethical". At the first quinquennial assembly of the régime, in 1929, I said:

"The Fascist State is not a night-watchman, solicitous only of the personal safety of the citizens; not is it organised exclusively for the purpose of guarantying a certain degree of material prosperity and relatively peaceful conditions of life, a board of directors would do as much. Neither is it exclusively political, divorced from practical realities and holding itself aloof from the multifarious activities of the citizens and the nation. The State, as conceived and realised by Fascism, is a spiritual and ethical entity for securing the political, juridical, and economic organisation of the nation, an organisation which in its origin and growth is a manifestation of the spirit. The State guarantees the internal and external safety of the country, but it also safeguards and transmits the spirit of the people, elaborated down the ages in its language, its customs, its faith. The State is not only the present, it is also the past and above all the future. Transcending the individual's brief spell of life, the State stands for the immanent conscience of the nation. The forms in which it finds expression change, but the

need for it remains. The State educates the citizens to civism, makes them aware of their mission, urges them to unity; its justice harmonises their divergent interests; it transmits to future generations the conquests of the mind in the fields of science, art, law, human solidarity; it leads men up from primitive tribal life to that highest manifestation of human power, imperial rule. The State hands down to future generations the memory of those who laid down their lives to ensure its safety or to obey its laws; it sets up as examples and records for future ages the names of the captains who enlarged its territory and of the men of genius who have made it famous. Whenever respect for the State declines and the disintegrating and centrifugal tendencies of individuals and groups prevail, nations are headed for decay".

Since 1929 economic and political development have everywhere emphasised these truths. The importance of the State is rapidly growing. The so-called crisis can only be settled by State action and within the orbit of the State. Where are the shades of the Jules Simons who, in the early days of liberalism proclaimed that the "State should endeavor to render itself useless and prepare to hand in its resignation"? Or of the MacCullochs who, in the second half of last century, urged that the State should desist from governing too much? And what of the English Bentham who considered that all industry asked of government was to be left alone, and of the German Humbolt who expressed the opinion that the best government was a "lazy" one? What would they say now to the unceasing, inevitable, and urgently requested interventions of govern-

ment in business? It is true that the second generation of economists was less uncompromising in this respect than the first, and that even Adam Smith left the door ajar — however cautiously — for government intervention in business.

If liberalism spells individualism, Fascism spells government. The Fascist State is, however, a unique and original creation. It is not reactionary but revolutionary, for it anticipates the solution of certain universal problems which have been raised elsewhere, in the political field by the splitting-up of parties, the usurpation of power by parliaments, the irresponsibility of assemblies; in the economic field by the increasingly numerous and important functions discharged by trade-unions and trade associations with their disputes and ententes, affecting both capital and labor; in the ethical field by the need felt for order, discipline, obedience to the moral dictates of patriotism.

Fascism desires the State to be strong and organic, based on broad foundations of popular support. The Fascist State lays claim to rule in the economic field no less than in others; it makes its action felt throughout the length and breadth of the country by means of its corporative, social, and educational institutions, and all the political, economic, and spiritual forces of the nation, organised in their respective associations, circulate within the State.

A State based on millions of individuals who recognise its authority, feel its action, and are ready to serve its ends is not the tyrannical state of a mediaeval lordling. It has nothing in common with the despotic States existing prior to or subsequent to 1789. Far from crushing the individual, the Fascist State multiplies his energies, just as in a regiment

a soldier is not diminished but multiplied by the number of his fellow soldiers.

The Fascist State organises the nation, but it leaves the individual adequate elbow room. It has curtailed useless or harmful liberties while preserving those which are essential. In such matters the individual cannot be the judge, but the State only.

The Fascist State is not indifferent to religious phenomena in general nor does it maintain an attitude of indifference to Roman Catholicism, the special, positive religion of Italians. The State has not got a theology but it has a moral code. The Fascist State sees in religion one of the deepest of spiritual manifestations and for this reason it not only respects religion but defends and protects it. The Fascist State does not attempt, as did Robespierre at the height of the revolutionary delirium of the Convention, to set up a "god" of its own; nor does it vainly seek, as does Bolschevism, to efface God from the soul of man. Fascism respects the God of ascetics, saints, and heroes, and it also respects God as conceived by the ingenuous and primitive heart of the people, the God to whom their prayers are raised.

The Fascist State expresses the will to exercise power and to command. Here the Roman tradition is embodied in a conception of strength. Imperial power, as understood by the Fascist doctrine, is not only territorial, or military, or commercial; it is also spiritual and ethical. An imperial nation, that is to say a nation which directly or indirectly is a leader of others, can exist without the need of conquering a single square mile of territory. Fascism sees in

the imperialistic spirit — i. e. in the tendency of nations to expand — a manifestation of their vitality. In the opposite tendency, which would limit their interests to the home couutry, it sees a symptom of decadence. Peoples who rise or rearise are imperialistic; renunciation is characteristic of dying peoples. The Fascist doctrine is that best suited to the tendencies and feelings of a people which, like the Italian, after lying fallow during centuries of foreign servitude, is now reasserting itself in the world.

But imperialism implies discipline, the coordination of efforts, a deep sense of duty and a spirit of self-sacrifice. This explains many aspects of the practical activity of the régime, and the direction taken by many of the forces of the State, as also the severity which has to be exercised towards those who would oppose this spontaneous and inevitable movement of XXth century Italy by agitating outgrown ideologies of the XIXth century, ideologies rejected wherever great experiments in political and social transformations are being dared.

Never before have the peoples thirsted for authority, direction, order, as they do now. If each age has its doctrine, then innumerable symptoms indicate that the doctrine of our age is the Fascist. That it is vital is shown by the fact that it has aroused a faith; that this faith has conquered souls is shown by the fact that Fascism can point to its fallen heroes and its martyrs.

Fascism has now acquired throughout the world that universality which belongs to all doctrines which by achiev ing self-expression represent a moment in the history of human thought.

APPENDIX

Notes to the first chapter

1. Philosophic conception

(1) If Fascism does not wish to die or, worse still, commit suicide, it must now provide itself with a doctrine. Yet this shall not and must not be a robe of Nessus clinging to us for all eternity, for tomorrow is some thing mysterious and unforseen. This doctrine shall be a norm to guide political and individual action in our daily life.

I who have myself dictated this doctrine, am the first to realise that the modest tables of our laws and programme—the theoretical and practical guidance of Fascism—should be revised, corrected, enlarged, developped, because already in parts they have suffered injury at the hand of time. I believe the essence and fundamentals of the doctrine are still to be found in the postulates which throughout two years have acted as a call to arms for the recruits of Italian Fascism. However, in taking those first fundamental assumptions for a starting point, we must proceed to carry our programme into a vaster field.

Italian Fascists, one and all, should cooperate in this task, one of vital importance to Fascism, and more especially those who belong to regions where—with and without agreement—peaceful coexistence has been achieved between two antagonistic movements.

The word I am about to use is a great one, but indeed I do wish that during the two months which are still to elapse before our

National Assembly meets, the philosophy of Fascism could be created. Milan is already contributing with the first Fascist school of propaganda.

It is not merely a question of gathering elements for a programme, to be used as a solid foundation for the constitution of a party which must inevitably arise from the Fascist movement; it is also a question of denying the silly tale that Fascism is all made up of violent men. In point of fact among Fascists there are many men who belong to the restless but meditative class.

The new course taken by Fascist activity will in no way diminish the fighting spirit typical of Fascism. To furnish the mind with doctrines and creeds does not mean to disarm, rather it signifies to strengthen our power of action, and make us ever more conscious of our work. Soldiers who fight fully conscious of the cause make the best of warriors. Fascism takes for its own the twofold device of Mazzini: «Thought and Action». (*Letter to Michele Bianchi,* written on August 27, 1921, for the opening of the School of Fascist Culture and Propaganda in Milan, in *Messaggi e Proclami,* Milano, Libreria d'Italia, 1929, p. 39).

Fascists must be placed in contact with one another, their activity must be an activity of doctrine, an activity of the spirit and of thought.....

Had our adversaries been present at our meeting, they would have been convinced that Fascism is not only action, but thought as well..... (Speech before the National Council of the Fascist Party, August 8, 1924, in *La Nuova Politica dell' Italia,* Milano, Alpes, 1928, p. 267).

(2) To-day I hold that Fascism as an idea, a doctrine, a realisation, is universal; it is Italian in its particular institutions, but it is universal in the spirit, nor could it be otherwise. The spirit is universal by reason of its nature. Therefore anyone may foresee a Fascist Europe drawing inspiration for her institutions from the doctrine and practice of Fascism; Europe, in other words, giving a Fascist turn to the solution of problems which beset the modern State, the Twentieth Century State which is very different from the States existing before 1789, and the States formed immediately after. To-day Fascism fills universal requirements, Fascism solves the threefold problem of relations between State and individual, between State and associations, between associations and organised associations. (Message for the year IX, October 27, 1930, in *Discorsi del 1930,* Milano, Alpes, 1931, p. 211).

2. Spiritualised conception

(3) This political process is flanked by a philosophic process; if it be true that matter was on the altars for one century, to-day it is the spirit which takes its place. All manifestations peculiar to the democratic spirit are consequently repudiated: easy-goingness, improvisation, the lack of a personal sense of responsibility, the exaltation of numbers and of that mysterious divinity called « The People ». All creations of the spirit—starting with those religious—are coming to the fore, and nobody dares keep up the attitude of anticlericalism which, for several decades, was a favourite with Democracy in the Western world. By saying that God is returning, we mean that spiritual values are returning. (*Da che parte va il mondo,* in *Tempi della Rivoluzione Fascista,* Milano, Alpes, 1930, p. 34).

There is a field reserved more to meditation upon the supreme ends of life than to a research of these ends. Consequently science starts from experience, but breaks out fatally into philosophy and, in my opinion, philosophy alone can enlighten science and lead to the universal idea. (To the Congress of Science at Bologna, October 31, 1926, in *Discorsi del 1926*, Milano, Alpes, 1927, p. 268).

In order to understand the Fascist movement one must first appreciate the underlying spiritual phenomenon in all its vastness and depth. The manifestations of the movement have been of a powerful and decisive nature, but one should go further. In point of fact Italian Fascism has not only been a political revolt against weak and incapable governments who had allowed State authority to decay and were threatening to arrest the progress of the country, but also a spiritual revolt against old ideas which had corrupted the sacred principles of religion, of faith, of country. Fascism, therefore, has been a revolt of the people. (Message to the British people; January 5, 1924, in *Messaggi e Proclami*, Milano, Libreria d'Italia, 1929, p. 107).

3. Positive conception of life as a struggle

(4) Struggle is at the origin of all things, for life is full of contrasts: there is love and hatred, white and black, day and night, good and evil; and until these contrasts achieve balance, struggle fatefully remains at the root of human nature. However, it is good for it to be so. To-day we can indulge in wars, economic battles, conflicts of

ideas, but if a day came to pass when struggle ceased to exist, that day would be tinged with melancholy; it would be a day of ruin, the day of ending. But that day will not come, because history ever discloses new horizons. By attempting to restore calm, peace, tranquillity, one would be fighting the tendencies of the present period of dynamism. One must be prepared for other struggles and for other surprises. Peace will only come when people surrender to a Christian dream of univ ersal brotherhood, when they can hold out hands across the ocean and over the mountains. Personally I do not believe very much in these idealisms, but I do not exclude them for I exclude nothing. (At the Politeama Rossetti, Trieste, September 20, 1920; in *Discorsi Politici,* Milano, Stab. Tipografico del « Popolo d'Italia », 1921, p. 107).

(5) For me the honour of nations consists in the contribution they have severally made to human civilization. (E. LUDWIG, *Talks with Mussolini,* London, Allen and Unwin, 1932, p. 199).

4. Ethical conception

(6) I called the organisation *Fasci Italiani di Combattimento.* This hard metallic name comprised the whole programme of Fascism, as I dreamed it, as I wished it, as I have made it!

Comrades, this is still our programme: fight.

Life for the Fascist, is a continuous, ceaseless fight, which we accept with ease, with great courage, with the necessary intrepidity. (On the VIIth anniversary of the Foundation of the *Fasci,* March 28, 1926, in *Discorsi del 1926,* Milano, Alpes, 1927, p. 98).

You touch the core of Fascist philosophy. When recently a Finnish philosopher asked me to expound to him the significance of Fascism in one sentence, I wrote in German: « We are against the " easy „ life! ». (E. LUDWIG: *Talks with Mussolini,* London, Allen and Unwin, 1932, p. 190).

5. Religious conception

(7) If Fascism were not a creed how could it endow its followers with courage and stoicism? Only a creed which has soared to the heights of religion can inspire such words as passed the lips, now lifeless alas, of Federico Florio. (*Legami di Sangue,* in *Diuturna,* Milano, Alpes, 1930, p. 256).

6. Historical and realistic conception

(8) Tradition certainly is one of the greatest spiritual forces of a people, inasmuch as it is a successive and constant creation of their soul. (*Breve Preludio,* in *Tempi della Rivoluzione Fascista,* Milano, Alpes, 1930, p. 13).

(9) Our temperament leads us to appraise the concrete aspect of problems, rather than their ideological or mystical sublimation. Therefore we easily regain our balance. (*Aspetti del Dramma,* in *Diuturna,* Milano, AIpes, 1930, p. 86).

Our battle is an ungrateful one, yet it is a beautiful battle since it compels us to count only upon our own forces. Revealed truths we have torn to shreds, dogmas we have spat upon, we have rejected all theories of paradise, we have baffled charlatans—white, red, black charlatans who placed miraculous drugs on the market to give « happiness » to mankind. We do not believe in programmes, in plans, in saints or apostles, above all we believe not in happiness, in salvation, in the promised land. (*Diuturna*, Milano, Alpes, 1930, p. 223).

We do not believe in a single solution, be it economical, political or moral, a linear solution of the problems of life, because—oh illustrious choristers from all the sacristies—life is not linear and can never be reduced to a segment traced by primordial needs. (*Navigare necesse,* in *Diuturna,* Milano, Alpes, 1930, p. 233).

(10) We are not and do not wish to be motionless mummies, with faces perpetually turned towards the same horizon, nor do we wish to shut ourselves up within the narrow hedges of subversive bigotry, where formulas, like prayers of a professed religion, are muttered mechanically. We are men, living men, who wish to give our contribution, however modest, to the creation of history. (*Audacia,* in *Diuturna,* Milano, Alpes, 1930, p. 11).

We uphold moral and traditional values which Socialism neglects or despises; but, above all, Fascism has a horror of anything implying an arbitrary mortgage on the mysterious future. (*Dopo due anni,* in *Diuturna,* Milano, Alpes, 1930, p. 242).

In spite of the theories of conservation and renovation, of tradition and progress expounded by the right and the left, we do not cling

desperately to the past as to a last board of salvation: yet we do not dash headlong into the seductive mists of the future. (*Breve preludio,* in *Diuturna,* Milano, Alpes, 1930, p. 14).

Negation, eternal immobility, mean damnation. I am all for motion. I am one who marches on..... (E. LUDWIG, *Talks with Mussolini,* London, Allen and Unwin, 1932, p. 203).

7. The individual and liberty

(11) We were the first to state, in the face of demoliberal individualism, that the individual exists only in so far as he is within the State and subjected to the requirements of the State and that, as civilisation assumes aspects which grow more and more complicated, individual freedom becomes more and more restricted. (To the General Staff Conference of Fascism, in *Discorsi del 1929,* Milano, Alpes, 1930, p. 280).

The sense of the State grows within the consciousness of Italians, for they feel that the State alone is the irreplaceable safeguard of their unity and independence; that the State alone represents continuity into the future of their stock and their history. (Message on the VIIth an niversary, October 25, 1929, *Discorsi del 1929,* Milano, Alpes, 1930, p. 300).

If, in the course of the past eight years, we have made such astounding progress, you may well think suppose and forsee that in the course of the next fifty or eighty years the onward trend of Italy, of this Italy we feel to be so powerful, so full of vital fluid, will really be grandiose. It will be so especially if concord lasts among citizens, if the State continues to be sole arbitrator in political and social conflicts, if all remains within the State and nothing outside the State, because it is impossible to conceive any individual existing outside the State unless he be a savage whose home is in the solitude of the sandy desert. (Speech before the Senate, May 12, 1928, in *Discorsi del 1928,* Milano, Alpes, 1929, p. 109).

Fascism has restored to the State its sovereign functions by claiming its absolute ethical meaning, against the egotism of classes and categories; to the Government of the State, which was reduced to a mere instrument of electoral assemblies, it has restored dignity, as representing the personality of the State and its power of Empire. It has rescued State administration from the weight of factions and party

interests. (To the Council of State, December 22, 1928, in *Discorsi del 1928*, Milano, Alpes, 1929, p. 358).

(12) Let no one think of denying the moral character of Fascism, for I should be ashamed to speak from this tribune if I did not feel that I represent the moral and spiritual powers of the State. What would the State be if it did not possess a spirit of its own, and a morality of its own, which lend power to the laws in virtue of which the State is obeyed by its citizens?

..... The Fascist State claims its ethical character: it is Catholic but above all it is Fascist, in fact it is exclusively and essentially Fascist. Catholicism completes Fascism, and this we openly declare, but let no one think they can turn the tables on us, under cover of metaphysics or philosophy. (To the Chamber of Deputies, May 13, 1929, in *Discorsi del 1929,* Milano, Alpes, 1930, p. 182).

..... a State which is fully aware of its mission and represents a people which are marching on; a State which necessarily transforms the people even in their physical aspect. In order to be something more than a mere administrator, the State must utter great words, expound great ideas and place great problems before this people (*Discorsi del 1929,* Milano, Alpes, 1930, p. 183).

(13) The concept of freedom is not absolute because nothing is ever absolute in life. Freedom is not a right, it is a duty. It is not a gift, it is a conquest; it is not equality, it is a privilege. The concept of freedom changes with the passing of time. There is a freedom in times of peace which is not the freedom of times of war. There is a freedom in times of prosperity which is not a freedom to be allowed in times of poverty. (Fifth anniversary of the foundation of the *Fasci di Combattimento*, March 24, 1924, in *La nuova politica dell'Italia,* vol. III, Milano, Alpes, 1925, p. 30).

In our State the individual is not deprived of freedom. In fact, he has greater liberty than an isolated man, because the State protects him and he is part of the State. Isolated man is without defence. (E. Ludwig, *Talks with Mussolini,* London, Allen and Unwin, 1932, p. 129).

(14) To-day we may tell the world of the creation of the powerful united State of Italy, ranging from the Alps to Sicily; this State is expressed by a well-organised, centralised, unitarian democracy, where-

in people circulate at ease. Indeed, gentlemen, either you admit the people into the citadel of the State and the people will defend it or, if you close them out, the people will assault it. (Speech before the Chamber of Deputies, May 26, 1927, in *Discorsi del 1927,* Milano, Alpes, 1928, p. 159).

In the Fascist regime the unity of classes, the political, social and moral unity of the Italian people is realised within the State, and only within the Fascist State. (Speech before the Chamber of Deputies, December 9, 1928, in *Discorsi del 1928,* Milano, Alpes, 1929, p. 333).

8. Conception of a corporative State

(15) We have created the united State of Italy — remember that since the Empire Italy had not been a united State! Here I wish to reaffirm solemnly our doctrine of the State. Here I wish to reaffirm with no weaker energy, the formula I expounded at the Scala in Milan « everything in the State, nothing against the State, nothing outside the State ». (Speech before the Chamber of Deputies, May 26, 1927, *Discorsi del 1927*, Milano, Alpes, 1928, p. 157).

(16) We are, in other words, a State which controls all forces acting in nature. We control political forces, we control moral forces we control economic forces, therefore we are a full-blown Corporative State..... We stand for a new principle in the world, we stand for sheer, categorical, definitive antithesis to the world of democracy, plutocracy, free-masonry, to the world which still abides by the fundamental principles laid down in 1789. (Speech before the new National Directory of the Party, April 7, 1926, in *Discorsi del 1926*, Milano, Alpes, 1927, p. 120).

The Ministry of Corporations is not a bureaucratic organ, nor does it wish to exercise the functions of syndical organisations which are necessarily independent, since they aim at organising, selecting and improving the members of syndicates. The Ministry of Corporations is an institution in virtue of which, in the centre and outside, integral corporation becomes an accomplished fact, where balance is achieved between interests and forces of the economic world. Such a balance is only possible within the sphere of the State, because the State alone transcends the contrasting interests of groups and individuals, in view of co-ordinating them to achieve higher aims. The

achievement of these aims is speeded up by the fact that all economic organisations, acknowledged, safeguarded and supported by the Corporative State, exist within the orbit of Fascism; in other terms they accept the conception of Fascism in theory and in practice. (Speech at the opening of the Ministry of Corporations, July 31, 1926, in *Discorsi del 1926,* Milano, Alpes, 1927, p. 250).

We have constituted a Corporative and Fascist State, the State of national society, a State which concentrates, controls, harmonises and tempers the interests of all social classes, which are thereby protected in equal measure. Whereas, during the years of demo-liberal regime, labour looked with diffidence upon the State, was, in fact, outside the State and against the State, and considered the State an enemy of every day and every hour, there is not one working Italian today who does not seek a place in his Corporation or federation, who does not wish to be a living atom of that great, immense, living organisation which is the national Corporate State of Fascism. (On the Fourth Anniversary of the March on Rome, October 28, 1926, in *Discorsi del 1926*, Milano, Alpes, 1927, p. 340).

9. Democracy

(17) The war was 'revolutionary, in the sense that—with streams of blood—it did away with the century of Democracy, the century of number, the century of majorities and of quantities. (*Da che parte va il Mondo,* in *Tempi della Rivoluzione Fascista,* Milano, Alpes, 1930, p. 37).

(18) Cf. note 13.

(19) Race: it is a feeling and not a reality; 95 % a feeling. (E. LUDWIG, *Talks with Mussolini,* London, Allen and Unwin, 1932, p. 75).

10. Conception of the State

(20) A nation exists inasmuch as it is a people. A people rise inasmuch as they are numerous, hard-working and well-regulated. Power is the outcome of this threefold principle. (To the General Assembly of the Party, March 10, 1929, in *Discorsi del 1929,* Milano, Alpes, 1930, p. 24).

Fascism does not deny the State; Fascism maintains that a civic society, national or imperial, cannot be conceived unless in the form

of a State (*Stato, anti-Stato, Fascismo,* in *Tempi della Rivoluzione Fascista*, Milano, Alpes, 1930, p. 94).

For us the Nation is mainly spirit and not only territory. There are States which owned immense territories and yet left no trace in the history of mankind. Neither is it a question of number, because there have been, in history, small, microscopic States, which left immortal, imperishable documents in art and philosophy.

The greatness of a nation is the compound of all these virtues and conditions. A nation is great when the power of the spirit is translated into reality. (Speech at Naples, October 24, 1922, in *Discorsi della Rivoluzione*, Milano, Alpes, 1928, p. 103).

We wish to unify the nation within the sovereign State, which is above everyone and can afford to be against everyone, since it represents the moral continuity of the nation in history. Without the State there is no nation. There are, merely, human aggregations, subject to all the disintegrations which history may inflict upon them. (Speech before the National Council of the Fascist Party, August 8, 1924, in *La Nuova Politica dell' Italia*, vol. III; Milano, Alpes, 1928, p. 269).

11. Dynamic reality

(21) I believe that..... if a people wish to live they should develop a will to power, otherwise they vegetate, live miserably and become prey to a stronger people, in whom this will to power is developped to a higher degree. (Speech to the Senate, May 28, 1926).

(22) It is Fascism which has refashioned the character of the Italians, removing impurity from our souls, tempering us to all sacrifices, restoring the true aspect of strength and beauty to our Italian face. (Speech delivered at Pisa, May 25, 1926, in *Discorsi del 1926*, Milano, Alpes, 1927, p. 193).

It is not out of place to illustrate the intrinsic character and profound significance of the Fascist Levy. It is not merely a ceremony, but a very important stage in the system of education and integral preparation of Italian men which the Fascist revolution considers one of the fundamental duties of the State: fundamental indeed, for if the State does not fulfill this duty or in any way accepts to place it under discussion, the State merely and simply forfeits its right to exist. (Speech before the Chamber of Deputies, May 28, 1928, in *Discorsi del 1928*, Milano, Alpes, 1929, p. 68).

ADDRESS
TO THE NATIONAL CORPORATIVE COUNCIL

14th November 1933

The applause which greeted the reading of my resolution last evening made me ask myself this morning whether it was worth while to make a speech illustrating a document which has already been grasped by your minds, has interpreted your convictions, and touched your revolutionary sensibility.

It may nevertheless be interesting to know what line of meditation and thought led me to the formulation of the resolution presented yesterday evening.

But first of all I wish to congratulate this Assembly and to express my satisfaction with the debates held here.

Only deficients could be surprised that divergent views have arisen and shades of opinion have appeared. This is inevitable, I should say necessary.

Harmony is harmony; discord is another thing.

Moreover, in discussing a problem as delicate as thate before us, it is perfectly logical and inevitable that each should

bring to it not only his doctrinal preparation, not only his state of mind, but also his personal temperament.

The most abstract of philosophers, the most transcendent of metaphysicians, cannot entirely disregard or set aside his personal temperament, whatever it may be.

You will remember that on the 16th of November of Year X, in the presence of the thousands of Fascist party officials assembled in Rome for the decennial celebration in Piazza Venezia, I asked: is this crisis, which has held us in its grip for the past four years — we have now entered on the first month of the fifth year — a crisis within the system or of the system?

A grave question, a question to which it was not then possible to give an immediate reply.

Today I can answer it: the crisis has penetrated so deeply into the system that it has become a crisis of the system.

It is no longer an injury, it is a constitutional disease.

We can now assert that the capitalistic mode of production has been superceded, and with it the theory of economic liberalism which illustrated and defended it.

I wish to trace for you, in its main lines, the history of capitalism in the past century, which can be defined as the century of capitalism. But first of all, what is capitalism? Capitalism must not be confounded with the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie is quite another thing. The bourgeoisie is a mode of being which can be great or petty, heroic or philistine.

Capitalism, on the other hand, is a specific mode of production, a mode of industrial production.

When capitalism attains its highest expression it is a mode of mass production for mass consumption, financed in mass through the national and international issue of joint stock capital. Capitalism is therefore industrial and has not had manifestations of much importance in the field of agriculture.

Periods of capitalism

I would mark three periods in the history of capitalism; the dynamic period, the static period, and the period of decline.

The dynamic period is that going from 1830 to 1870. It coincides with the introduction of the power-loom and the appearance of the steam-engine. The factory arises. The factory is the typical manifestation of industrial capitalism. It is the period of wide margins, and therefore the law of free competition and the struggle of all against all can have full play.

Some fall by the way, others die, and the Red Cross picks them up. This period also has its depressions, but they are cyclical depressions, neither long nor universal. Capitalism still has such vitality and such power of recovery that it can get over them brilliantly. It is the period in which Louis Philippe exclaims: "Get rich „. Urbanism develops. Berlin which had a hundred thousand inhabitants at the beginning of the century touches the million; Paris from 560,000 at the time of the French revolution also proceeds towards the million. The same can be said of

London and the Transatlantic cities. During this first period of capitalism selection really works. There are also wars.

Those wars cannot be compared to the world war we have lived. They are short wars. The Italian one of 1848-49 lasts 4 months the first year and 4 days the second; that of 1859 lasts a few weeks. The same holds good of the war of 1866. Nor are the Prussian wars of longer duration. That of 1864 against the Danish Dutchies lasts a few days, that of 1866 against Austria, a continuation of the former one, lasts a few days and closes at Sadowa. Even that of 1870, which has the tragic days of Sedan, does not last more than two seasons.

Those wars, I would almost say, stimulate in a certain sense the economic activities of the nations, so much so that barely eight years later, in 1878, France is once more on her feet, and can organise the world exhibition, an event which gives Bismarck pause for thought.

We will not call what was going on in America heroic. That word should be reserved exclusively for events of a military nature; but undoubtedly the conquest of the Far West was hard and adventurous, and had its risks and its victims like a great conquest.

This dynamic period of capitalism begins with the advent of the steam-engine and closes with the cutting of the isthmus of Suez.

It is a period of forty years. During those forty years the State looks on, is inactive, and the theorists of liberalism say: you, State, have but one duty, that of acting in such wise that your existence is not even perceived in the economic sector. You will govern all the more successfully

the less you concern yourself with problems of an economic nature.

Economic activities in all their manifestations are therefore limited only by the penal code and the commercial code.

But after 1870 this period changes.

We no longer have the struggle for life, free competition, the selection of the fittest.

We can note the first symptoms of fatigue and of deviation in the capitalistic world.

The era of cartels, syndicates, consortia, trusts opens. I shall certainly not pause for you to note the differences existing between these four institutions.

The differences are inconsiderable, or almost so.

They are like those between rates and taxes.

Economists have not yet defined them. But the taxpayer who has to meet them, finds it quite futile to discuss the matter, as whether they be rates or be taxes they must be payed.

Economic Liberalism and Customs Protection

It is not true, as an Italian economist of the liberal school of economy has said, that trustified, cartellised, syndicated economy is a consequence of the war. No; the first coal cartel arose in Germany, in Dortmund, in 1879.

In 1905, ten years before the world war broke out, there were 62 metal cartels in Germany.

There was a potash cartel in 1904, a sugar cartel in 1903, there were ten cartels in the glass industry.

In that period the direction of industry and commerce in Germany was divided up between 500 to 700 cartels.

In France in 1877 the industrial office of Longwy was opened to deal with the metal industry, in 1888 another was opened to deal with petroleum, in 1881 all the insurance companies had coalesced. The Austrian iron cartel is of 1873; international cartels grow up by the side of the national. The glass bottle syndicate dates back to 1907. The plate and looking-glass syndicate which brought together French, English, Austrian and Italian manufacturers, is of 1909.

In 1904 the rolling mills formed an international cartel. The zinc syndicate started in 1899.

The British-Chilenian nitrate cartel was started in 1901.

I have here a complete list of national and international trusts which I will spare you. It is safe to say that there is no sector of the economic life of the countries of Europe and America in which these characteristic manifestations of capitalism are not found.

But what is the consequence? The end of free competition. As the margins were reduced, capitalistic enterprise considered that it was better to come to an understanding rather than fight; to form alliances, to amalgamate, to divide up the markets and distribute the profits.

Even the law of supply and demand is no longer a dogma, for it is possible through cartels and trusts to act both on demand and supply; at last this coalesced, trustified, capitalistic economy turns to the State. What does it ask for? Customs' protection.

Free trade, which is only a wider aspect of the doctrine

of economic liberalism, free trade receives a death blow. Indeed the first nation to raise almost impassable barriers was America. And now for some years England herself has rejected all that which seemed until now traditional in her political, economic, and moral life, and has taken to protection of an increasingly pronounced kind.

Super = Capitalism and the standardisation of Mankind

The war came. After the war and as a result of the war we had the inflation of capitalistic enterprise. The scale of the concerns rose from the million to the billion. Seen from afar the so-called vertical constructions give the impression of something monstrous, Babelic.

The dimensions of business enterprise exceed the possibilities of man: formerly spirit dominated matter, now matter bends and subdues the spirit.

What was physiology becomes pathology, everything becomes abnormal. Two personalities — for in all human vicissitudes representative men start up on the horizon — two personalities can be identified as typical of this situation: Krueger, the Swedish match-man, and Insull, the American business speculator.

With that brutal frankness which is our Fascist custom let us add that in Italy there have also been manifestations of this kind; but, taken as a whole, they have not touched those heights.....

At this stage, super-capitalism finds its inspiration and its justification in a utopia, the utopia of unlimited consumption.

The ideal of super-capitalism would be the standardisation of the human race from the cradle to the grave.

Super-capitalism would like all babies to be born the same length so that cradles could be standardised, all children to like the same toys, all men to dress in the same uniform, to read the same book, to have the same tastes at the cinema, and all to desire a so-called labor-saving machine,

This is not the result of caprice, it is in the logic of events, for only thus can super-capitalism make its plans.

When does a capitalistic business cease to be an economic phenomenon? When its size transforms it into a social phenomenon.

It is then that the capitalistic concern, when in difficulties, throws itself like a dead weight into the arms of the State.

It is then that State intervention begins and becomes ever more neeessary.

It is then that those who ignored the State seek it out anxiously.

Things have now gone so far that if in all the countries of Europe Governments were to go to sleep for 24 hours, that parenthesis would suffice to precipitate a disaster.

At the present time there is no branch of economic activities in which the State is not called on to intervene.

Were we, — it is a mere supposition, — to give way to this latest phase of capitalism we should slide into State capitalism, which is nothing more nor less than State socialism reversed.

We should by one way or the other arrive at the bureaucratisation of the economic activities of the nation.

This is the crisis of the capitalistic system considered in its universal significance. But we are concerned with a specific crisis in our quality of Italians and Europeans.

Why Europe is no longer at the Head of Civilisation

There is a European, a typically European crisis.

Europe is no longer the continent which guides civilisation.

This is the dramatic fact which those whose duty it is to think must recognise and point out to others.

There was a time when Europe dominated the world politically, spiritually, economically.

Politically through her political institutions.

Spiritually through all that the European spirit has produced down the ages.

Economically, because it was the only highly industrialised continent.

But beyond the Atlantic a great industrial and capitalistic business world has grown up. In the Far East Japan, after coming into touch with Europe during the war of 1905, is advancing by rapid stages towards the West.

Here the problem is a political one.

Let us talk of politics, for this Assembly is also exquisitely political. Europe can still try to resume her place at

the helm of world civilisation if she can find a minimum of political unity.

The policies we have steadily adhered to should be followed.

A European political entente cannot however come about unless grave injustices are first repaired.

The Four Power Pact

We have reached an extremely serious juncture in the situation: the League of Nations has lost all that could confer on it political significance and historic bearing.

Meantime the very country which invented it has remained outside.

Russia, the United States, Germany and Japan are absent.

The League of Nations started from one of those maxims which when announced sound very beautiful; but which when afterwards considered, anatomised, sectioned, turn out to be absurd.

What other diplomatic deeds are there which could restore contact between the Governments?

Locarno? Locarno is a different matter. Locarno has nothing to do with disarmament. The way out does not lie that way.

Of late a great silence surrounds the Four Power Pact. None mention it but all think of it.

For this reason we do not intend to resume initiatives or to hurry up the stages of a situation which must logically and fatally ripen.

Is Italy a capitalist country?

And now let us enquire whether Italy is a capitalist country.

Have you ever asked yourselves that? If by capitalism we mean that complex of usages, customs, technical progress now common to all countries, we can then say that Italy is capitalistic.

But if we go more closely into the matter and examine from a statistical standpoint the economic consistency of the several categories of the population, we then secure data which enable us to say that Italy is not a capitalist country in the meaning now currently given to that term.

On the 21st of April 1931 farmers farming their own lands numbered 2,943,000, tenant farmers 858,000.

There were 1,631,000 crop-sharing farmers and peasants, 2,475,000 other agriculturists, farm hands, wage workers and casual agricultural labourers. The total population directly and immediately dependent on agriculture numbered 7,900,000.

There were 523,000 manufacturers, 841,000 traders, 724,000 craftsmen working on their own account or for others, 4,283,000 industrial wage-workers, 849,000 servants and porters, 541,000 persons enrolled in the armed forces of the State inclusive of the police.

The liberal arts and professions accounted for 553,000, public and private services employed 905,000, the total of this group added to the other gives us 17 million.

There are not very many proprietors and rentiers in Italy, only 201,000; there were 1,945,000 students and 11,244,000 women minding their homes.

A further figure of 1,295,000 refers to people belonging to other non-professional categories, a figure which can be interpreted variously.

Italy should remain a country of diversified economy

You can see at once from this picture that the economic activities of the Italian nation are varied, complex, and cannot be defined as belonging to one type; especially so as the manufacturers represented by the impressive figure of 523,000, are almost all at the head of small or medium sized concens. Small businesses are those with a minimum of 50 and a maximum of 500 workers; those ranging from 500 to 5 or 6 thousand workers are medium sized; above them comes large scale-industry which sometimes runs into super-capitalism.

This compendium also shows how mistaken Karl Marx was when, following up his apocalyptic doctrines, he claimed that society can be divided into two classes clearly divided and eternally irreconcilable.

In my opinion Italy should remain a country of diversified economy, with a strong agriculture, the foundation of all, so much so that the slight industrial revival recently noted is due, in the unanimous opinion of all who understand such matters, to the fairly good crops of the last year or two.

A sound small and medium-sized industry; a banking system which does not speculate, a commerce fulfilling its

irreplaceable task of bringing commodities rapidly and rationally to consumers.

The Corporations

The statement I submitted yesterday evening defined the guild as we intend and wish to create it, and it also defined its objectives. The corporation, it says, is formed to expand the wealth, the political power, and the well-being of the Italian people. These three objectives are conditional each on the other.

Political strength creates wealth, and wealth in its turn invigorates political action.

I should like to call your attention to the objective stated: the well-being of the Italian people. It is essential that these institutions we have set up should at a given moment be felt and perceived by the masses themselves as instruments through which those masses improve their standard of life.

At a given moment the worker, the tiller of the soil, must be able to say to himself and to his family: if I am really better off to-day, it is due to the institutions which the Fascist Revolution has created.

In all national societies there is an inevitable residuum of poverty. A certain number of people live on the margin of society; special institutions deal with them. Viceversa, that which distresses our spirit is the poverty of strong, capable men, feverishly and vainly seeking work.

We wish that the Italian workers, who interest us as Italians, as workers, and as Fascists, should feel that we

are setting up institutions not only to give expression to our doctrinal views but that we are setting up institutions which at a given moment are to yield positive results; concrete, practical, and tangible.

I will not dwell on the conciliatory functions which the corporations can exercise and I see no drawback to the practice of conciliation.

Whenever the Government has to take measures of some importance it already consults the parties concerned. If to-morrow this consultation on certain specified matters becomes obligatory I see no harm in it, for everything that brings the citizen into closer contact with the State, everything that makes the citizen part of the machinery of the State, is advantageous to the social and national aims o Fascism.

Our State

Our State is not an absolute State, still less an absolutist State far removed from men and armed only with laws, inflexible as laws should be.

Our State is an organic, human State, desirous of adhering to the realities of life.

The bureaucracy itself is no longer, and in future will be ever less desirous of acting as a diaphragm between that which is the activity of the State and those which are the interests and effective and concrete needs of the Italian people.

I am quite certain that the Italian bureaucracy, which is admirable, will work with the corporations, in the future

as it has done in the past, whenever this is necessary for the better solution of the problems at issue.

The point however, which has most keenly interested this Assembly is that which purposes to confer legislative powers on the National Corporative Council.

Running ahead of the times, some have already spoken of the end of the present Chamber of Deputies. Let us explain. As the legislature is now drawing to a close the present Chamber of Deputies will have to be dissolved.

In the next place, as in these months time is lacking to set up the new corporative institutions, the new Chamber will be chosen by the same procedure as in 1929.

A constitutional reform

But a time will come when the Chamber of Deputies will have to decide its own fate. Are there any Fascists who feel inclined to weep at this hypothesis?

If there are, let them know that we shall not dry their tears. It is quite conceivable that a National Corporative Council may replace *in toto* the present Chamber of Deputies. The Chamber of Deputies has never been to my taste.

This Chamber of Deputies has now become anachronistic even as regards its name: it is an institution we found and which is foreign to our mentality and to our passion of Fascists.

The Chamber presupposes a world we have demolished; it presupposes the plurality of parties and not infrequently the hold-up of the ministerial diligence. Since the day on

which we annulled this plurality, the Chamber of Deputies has lost the essential reason for which it was formed.

With hardly any exceptions the Fascist deputies have risen to the height of their faith and we must conclude that the blood running in their veins was very pure if it has not been poisoned in that environment where everything exhales the breath of the past.

But all these are future developments, for we have no undue haste.

The important thing is to lay down the principle, because from that principle the inevitable consequences can be drawn.

When, on the 13th January 1923, the Grand Council was set up, it may have seemed to superficial observors that just one other institute had been founded. No: on that day political liberalism was burried.

When the Militia, the armed guard of the Revolution, was created, when the Grand Council, the supreme organ of the Revolution, was formed, a death blow was dealt at all that had been the theory and practice of liberalism, and we entered definitely on the path of the Revolution.

Now we are burrying economic liberalism.

The Corporative acts in the economic field as the Grand Council and the Militia have acted in the political field.

The Corporations mean regulated economy, and therefore also controlled economy, for there can be no regulation without control.

The Corporations supercede socialism and supercede liberalism, they create a new synthesis.

One fact is symptomatic: a fact which has perhaps not been adequately considered: that the decline of capitalism coincides with the decline of socialism.

All the socialist parties in Europe are falling to pieces.

I do not refer only to Italy and Germany, but to other countries as well.

I do not of course say that the two phenomena were conditional one on the other from a strictly logical standpoint, but there existed between them a historic link of simultaneousness.

It is for this reason that corporative economy arises at a time when the two concomitant phenomena, capitalism and socialism, have already given all that they could give.

We inherit from both that which was vital in each.

A step forward on the Path of the Revolution

We have rejected the theory of the economic man, the liberal theory, and we have risen in indignation every time we have heard labor spoken of as a commodity.

The economic man does not exist. Man is integral, he is political, he is economic, he is religious, he is saint, he is warrior.

To-day we are taking a further step forward on the path of the revolution.

Comrade Tassinari truly said that a revolution to be great, to make a deep impress on the life of a people, on history, must be a social revolution.

If you look into things deeply you will see that the

French revolution was eminently social, for it demolished all that remained of the middle-ages, from tolls to corvées, social because it brought about the vast upheaval of all the landed property system of France and created those millions of land-owners who have been and still are one of the solid and sound forces of that country.

Were this not so any one could make a revolution. A revolution is a serious matter, not a palace conspiracy, nor a change of Ministry, nor the rise of one party which displaces another party.

It is laughable to read that in 1876 the advent of the left to power was described as a revolution.

In conclusion, let us ask ourselves: can the guild system be applied to other countries? We should ask this question because it is being asked in all other countries; everywhere the matter is being studied and efforts are being made to understand. There is no doubt that in view of the general crisis of capitalism the guild solution will force itself to the front everywhere, but if the guild system is to be carried out fully, completely, integrally, revolutionarily, three conditions are required:

A single party, so that economic discipline may be accompanied by political discipline and so that rising above contrasting interests all may be bound together by a common faith.

Nor is this enough. After the single party there must be the totalitarian State, that is to say the State which absorbs all the energies, all the interests, all the hopes of a people in order to transform and potentiate them.

And this is not yet enough. The third and last and

most important condition is to live a period of high ideal tension.

That is why, step by step, we shall strengthen and consolidate all our achievements, why we shall translate into action our whole doctrine. Who can deny that our Fascist period is a period of high ideal tension? No one can deny it. This is the time in which arms have been crowned with victory; institutions renewed; the land redeemed; new cities founded.

SPEECH IN THE SENATE ON THE BILL ESTABLISHING THE CORPORATIONS

13th January 1934

Were not the subject inexhaustible, I would willingly have refrained from speaking, for the bill submitted to your approval has been slowly and thoroughly prepared; it is no sudden birth. Its precedents can be traced back to what may be described as the proto-history of the Régime: the first meeting of the *Fasci di Combattimento* held at Milan fifteen years ago. After the March on Rome the first tentative action toward the corporations was taken by the meeting at Palazzo Chigi and by the Palazzo Vidoni Covenant. Then came the Act of 3rd April 1926, followed by the regulations of 1st July 1926. The Labor Charter is of the 21st April 1927. The first corporative law is of March 1930.

The bill now before you was first examined by the Central Corporative Committee; the chrism of the Grand Council was conferred on it after long and detailed debates: it has been revised by the Council of Ministers, and has been presented to you accompanied by a report of the Ministry of

Corporations. To this has been added a report, solid in substance and fervid in faith, of your reporter, the Quadrumvir De Vecchi.

The speeches delivered here have thrown further light on the project which you have examined. Senator Bevione surveyed the horizon and clearly individualised some characteristic aspects of the crisis through which we are still passing; Senator Schanzer's speech was extremely rigorous in its dialectics; Senator Cavazzoni emphasised the paradox of this truly paradoxical period of contemporary civilisation which places us before such phenomena as wheat used for fuel by steam-engines, bags of coffee thrown into the sea, wealth destroyed, while there are millions of men who could use it to satisfy their needs.

An interesting speech was that of Senator Cogliolo who, in his brilliant opening, underlined the importance of the acceptance of the Régime and the organisation within its cadres of the masses of the so-called « intellectuals »: a typical Italian phenomenon and one unique in history if it be true that Plato, who was certainly not lacking in wisdom, excluded poets and their kin from his Republic considering them pernicious to the peaceful growth of the City. We are creating a Régime in which all those who were formerly called brain-workers, all those who earn their living by the exercise of a profession or an art, live within the Régime and bring to the Régime an irreplaceable contribution, the contribution of intelligence.

Senator Marozzi dwelt on some aspects of the guild in relation to agriculture. Last of all Senator Corbino, a physicist, as we all know, of world-wide reputation, has plac-

ed some interrogation marks of notable importance which convince me of the excellency of circumspection when walking in the field of economics.

This bill is not the fruit of doctrines only. Doctrines should not be unduly despised, for doctrine elightens experience and experience tests doctrine. Not of doctrines only, but of twelve years of experience, living, practical, daily experience, during which all the problems of national life viewed from the economic standpoint, problems always prismatic and complex, have been brought before me: I have had to face them and not infrequently to settle them.

Capitalist economy

What are the premises of this bill? The fundamental premise is the following: there is no such thing as an economic fact which is exclusively private and individual. From the day on which man resigned or adapted himself to living in the company of his fellows, from that day on not one of the actions he accomplishes is limited in its development and conclusions to himself, all have reactions which go beyond his person.

The phenomenon of capitalism, the form of economics known as capitalistic economy, must also be situated in its historic environment. Capitalistic economy is a phenomenon of last century and of the present. It was unknown to antiquity. Salvioli's book is exhaustive and final on this point. Nor was it known to the Middle-ages. A more or less vast phase of artizan economy then still prevailed.

Capitalism implies machinery; machinery implies the factory. Capitalism is therefore bound up with the rise of machinery; it expands with the long-distance transmission of power and when conditions, widely different from those under which we are now living, allow of a rational and universal division of labor. It was this division of labor which in the second half of last century led a British economist, Stanley Jevons, to say: « the prairies of North America and Russia are our wheat fields; Chicago and Odessa are our granaries; Canada and the Baltic States are our forests; Australia raises her flocks for us, America her cattle; Peru sends us her silver, California and Australia their gold; the Chinese grow tea for us and the Indians coffee; sugar and spices come to our ports; France and Spain are our vineyards; the Mediterranean our market-garden ».

Of course all this had as its counter-part, coal, cotton goods, machinery, etc., etc. In this first phase of capitalism (on another occasion I defined it as dynamic and even heroic) the prevalent character of economic facts may be conceived of as individual and private. At that time theorists were emphatic in excluding State intervention in business, all they asked of the State was that it be quiescent and that it give the country safety and order.

Industrial dynasties

It is also in this period that the direction of industrial capitalism had a family aspect which, whenever it has been preserved, has been of the greatest value; dynasties of great

manufacturers transmitted from father to son not only the factory but a feeling of family pride and also a sense of honor. But in his book « the End of Capitalism » Fried, while limiting his remarks to Germany, was already led to note that in the years between 1870 and 1890 these great dynasties of manufacturers declined, broke up, dispersed, became insufficient.

It is during this period that the joint-stock-company appears on the scene. The joint-stock-company must not be thought of as a diabolical invention or a product of human malice. We should not bring the gods and demons too frequently into our affairs. The joint-stock-company arises when capitalism, as a result of its expansion, can no longer rely on the wealth of families or small groups, but has to appeal, through the issue of stocks and bonds, to impersonal, undifferentiated, colloidal capital. It is then that the manufacturer's name is replaced by the company's cypher. Only those who are initiated into the practices of this kind of financial mysteriosophy know how to read beneath « the veil of the strange verses ».

Senator Bevione in his remarks quoted the *Sofindit*, but I fancy many of you do not exactly know what is hidden behind that word of vaguely Ostrogothic flavor. The *Sofindit* is not a business; it is a convalescent home where more or less deteriorated concerns are kept under observation and treatment. You will not be so indiscreet, I hope, as to ask me who pays the bill for these more or less lengthy stays in hospital. In this period, when industry is unable on the strength of its own prestige and vigor to float its capital issues, it turns to the banks.

When an enterprise appeals to the capital of all, its private character ceases, it becomes a public, or if you prefer, a social fact.

State intervention

And this phenomenon, which made its appearance before the war, profoundly modifying the whole capitalistic organisation — you can find the facts by reading Francesco Vito's book « Industrial Syndicates and Cartels » — this transformation accelerated its rhythm during and after the war. State intervention is no longer deprecated, it is sollicited. Should the State intervene? There can be no doubt as to the answer. But how? The forms of Government intervention have of late been diverse, varied, contrasting. There has been disorganic, empyrical intervention, case by case, as the need arises. This has taken place in all countries, including those which until quite recently flew the flag of economic liberalism.

There is another form of intervention, the communistic, with which I have no kind of sympaty, not even spatial, Senator Corbino. For my part I deny that if communism had been applied in Germany it would have had different results from those it has had in Russia. Anyhow, it is evident that the German people will have nothing to do with it. In some of its manifestations of exasperated Americanism (extremes meet) this communism is only a form of State socialism, it is nothing more nor less than the bureaucratisation of economic activities. I believe none of you wish to bureaucratise, that is to say

to freeze the realities of the economic life of the nation; complex, changeable realities, bound up with world events, and above all of such a character that when they lead to the commission of errors, those errors have unforeseeable consequences.

The American experiment should be followed very closely. In the United States, Government intervention in business is direct; and sometimes it takes a peremptory form. The codes are nothing more nor less than collective contracts to which the President compels both parties to submit. We must wait before passing judgement on that experiment.

I should however like to anticipate my opinion on one point, and it is that monetary manoeuvres cannot bring about a real and enduring price rise. If we wish to delude mankind we can have recourse to what used to be known as « clipping the coinage ». But all who do not obey the dictates of economic and social empyricism have formed a quite definite opinion. The path of inflation leads to catastrophy. Who indeed can really think that the multiplication of monetary istruments can increase national wealth? The comparison has already been drawn: it is like thinking that by printing a million times the same negative of the same person the population is increased by a million men.

Have we not moreover had experiences in this field? From the *assignats* of France to the post-war *mark* of Germany?

A fourth experiment is the Fascist. If liberal economy is the economy of individuals in a state of more or less

complete liberty, Fascist guild economy is that of individuals, and also of associated groups, and also of the State. And what are its characteristics? What are the characteristics of guild economy?

Guild or corporative economy respects the principle of private property. Private property completes human personality. It is a right, and if it be a right it is also a duty. So true is this that property should be considered in its social function, not therefore as passive ownership but as active ownership, which does not merely enjoy the fruits of wealth but develops, increases, and multiplies them. Corporative economy respects private enterprise. The Labor Charter specifically states that it is only when private enterprise is deficient, lacking, or inadequate that the State intervenes. It is obvious, for instance, that only the Government, with the powerful means at its disposal, can reclaim the Pontine Ager.

Corporative economy introduces order in the economic field. If there be one phenomenon which requires regulating, and which should be directed toward certain fixed objectives, it is precisely the economic phenomenon for it concerns the whole nation.

Not only must industrial economy be regulated, but agricultural economy commercial economy, banking and even artizan activities. How should this regulation be carried out in practice? Through the self-discipline of the categories concerned. It is only in the second resort, when the categories fail to agree and to secure the due balance of forces, that the Government may intervene; and it has the sovereign right to do so, in this field as in others,

for the Government represents the other term of the equation: the consumer, the anonymous mass, which being unorganised must be safeguarded by the organ representing the collective body of citizens.

And here some one may be inclined to ask: « And if the depression were to end? » I reply: Then more than ever! We must not nurture deceptive hopes of a rapid conclusion of this depression. It will leave behind it long trails. But anyhow, even if there were to be a general economic revival to-morrow and we were to return to the easy business conditions prevailing in 1914, to which reference has been made, then more than ever regulation would be necessary, for men have short memories and they would be induced to commit once more the same foolish acts, they would repeat the same follies.

The bill before you, honorable Senators, has already penetrated the conscience of the Italian people. In these last few days the Italian people has shown that this is so. This admirable Italian people, laborious, indefaticable, thrifty, has cast eight thousand million votes of one lire each in favor of this law; while you have been holding this debate the people has shown that this law is not a threat but a guarantee, not a danger but a supreme safeguard.

The stages of execution? When the law has been passed we shall proceed to set up the Corporations. The Grand Council has already examined and discussed the text of the bill, and has defined their character and composition.

When these are set up we shall watch their procedure, which must be rapid, not weighted down by bureaucracy. In the working of this institution as of all others

the cost must be taken into account. In judging an institution its yield must be considered in relation to its cost. Nor should some increase of bureaucracy be feared. It must be remembered that no human organisation can be conceived which does not require a minimum of bureaucracy. When we have watched, followed, controlled the practical and effective working of the Corporations we shall have reached the third stage, that of constitutional reform. Only when that third stage is reached will the fate of the Chamber of Deputies be decided.

As you see from all that I have previously said and from these brief statements, we are proceeding very quietly. We are far from precipitating events; we are sure of ourselves; for inasmuch as we are the Fascist Revolution, we have the whole century before us.

History

Benito Mussolini

The Doctrine of Fascism

"In order to understand the Fascist movement one must first apprehend the underlying phenomena in all its vastness and depth. In point of fact, Italian Fascism has not only been a political revolt against weak and incapable governments . . . but also a spiritual revolt against old ideas which had corrupted the sacred principles of religion, of faith, of country. Fascism, therefore, has been a revolt of the people."

—Mussolini

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